ARISTOPHANES, *BIRDS* 786–8

ABSTRACT

A conjecture in Birds *786–8.*

Keywords: Aristophanes; *Birds*; emendation; εἶτα; corruption; participle

αὐτίχ᾽ ὑμῶν τῶν θεατῶν εἴ τις ἦν ὑπόπτερος,
εἶτα πεινῶν τοῖς χοροῖσι τῶν τραγῳδῶν ἤχθετο,
ἐκπτόμενος ἂν οὗτος ἠρίστησεν ἐλθὼν οἴκαδε ...

'For instance, if one of you spectators was winged, then, being hungry, was bored with the tragic choruses, he could have flown off, gone home and had lunch.' The sequence 'was winged ... then was bored' is surprising. Being winged is not an event anterior to being bored but a condition which enables the action which follows. I should expect here the common idiom in which εἶτα (continuative or adversative, sometimes ἔπειτα or κᾆτα or κἄπειτα) is preceded not by a finite verb but by a participle (circumstantial or temporal): εἴ τις ὢν ὑπόπτερος | εἶτα, 'if, being winged, he had then ...'. Cf. *Vesp.* 1071–2 εἴ τις ὑμῶν, ὦ θεαταί, τὴν ἐμὴν ἰδὼν φύσιν | εἶτα θαυμάζει. Precisely the same corruption is found at *Vesp.* 49 ἄνθρωπος ὢν (RV: ἦν j Greg. Cor.) εἶτ᾽ ἐγένετ᾽ ἐξαίφνης κόραξ. Other Aristophanic examples with ὤν are *Ach.* 498–9 εἰ πτωχὸς ὢν ἔπειτ᾽ ἐν Ἀθηναίοις λέγειν | μέλλω, *Eq.* 391–2 ἀλλ᾽ ὅμως οὗτος τοιοῦτος ὢν ἅπαντα τὸν βίον | κᾆτ᾽ ἀνὴρ ἔδοξεν εἶναι, *Ran.* 203–5 κᾆτα πῶς δυνήσομαι | ἄπειρος, ἀθαλάττωτος, ἀσαλαμίνιος | ὢν εἶτ᾽ ἐλαύνειν;, 367 ἢ τοὺς μισθοὺς τῶν ποιητῶν ῥήτωρ ὢν εἶτ᾽ ἀποτρώγει. For further illustration see LSJ s.v. εἶτα I.2, ἔπειτα I.3, Olson on *Ach.* 23–4, Biles and Olson on *Vesp.* 49 and *Eq.* 280–1, and C. Collard, *Colloquial Expressions in Greek Tragedy* (Stuttgart, 2018), 105–6.

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CONSIDER THE NIGHTINGALE: CALLIMACHUS, *EPIGR.* 2 PF. = 34 G–P[1]

ABSTRACT

Several epigrams of Callimachus showcase a larger content in a smaller format: one of these is Callim. Epigr. *2 Pf. = 34 G–P.*

Keywords: nightingale; epigram; Homer; Callimachus

[1] Callim. *Iambus* 7 describes a statue of Hermes as a *parergon*, 'secondary work, minor work', of Epeius, the creator of the Trojan Horse. Susan Stephens and I treat this epigram in our edition and commentary of Callimachus' epigrams: see S.A. Stephens and B. Acosta-Hughes, *Callimachus: The Epigrams* (Berlin, 2025), 105–11. This small study is a *parergon* of that larger work.

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Εἶπέ τις Ἡράκλειτε τεὸν μόρον, ἐς δέ με δάκρυ
ἤγαγεν, ἐμνήσθην δ᾽ ὁσσάκις ἀμφότεροι
ἥλιον ἐν λέσχῃ κατεδύσαμεν· ἀλλὰ σὺ μέν που,
ξεῖν᾽ Ἁλικαρνησεῦ, τετράπαλαι σποδιή·
αἱ δὲ τεαὶ ζώουσιν ἀηδόνες, ἦσιν ὁ πάντων
ἁρπακτὴς Ἅΐδης οὐκ ἐπὶ χεῖρα βαλεῖ.

Sources: Diog. Laert. 9.17 τρίτος [Heraclitus] ἐλεγείας ποιητὴς Ἁλικαρνασσεύς, εἰς ὃν Καλλίμαχος πεποίηκεν οὕτως; *Anth. Pal.* 7.80 εἰς τὸν αὐτὸν Καλλιμάχου; οὐχ ἁρμόσει τοῦτο εἰς Ἐφέσιον φιλόσοφον; *Anth. Plan.* IIIb 126.3 fol. 96v Καλλιμάχου; *Suda* s.v. λέσχη, λ 309 Adler quotes lines 2–6 without attribution.

1 δέ με C δέ δε P δ᾽ ἐμὲ Diog. 3 ἥλιον ἐν λέσχῃ P Suda ἠέλιον ἐν Pl Diog. ἠέλιον λέσχῃ Bentley κατελύσαμεν Diog. *v.l.* 4 Ἁλικαρνασ(σ)εῦ Diog. Suda v.l.

Someone mentioned your death, Heraclitus, and this brought
me to tears; I remembered how often we both
put the sun to sleep in conversation. But you, I suppose,
Halicarnassian friend, were ashes very long ago.
But your nightingales live on, upon which
Hades, the robber of all, will not cast his hand.

It is not going too far to say that Callimachus' epigram on the loss of his friend Heraclitus (2 Pf. = 34 G–P) encapsulates, in a small poem, the greatest narrative of one friend's loss of another in Greek culture: Achilles' loss of Patroclus. To start with the term μόρος: in the *Iliad* this term is used of the fated death of major heroes (for example of Achilles and of Hector):

Il. 19.421 (Achilles of himself)
εὖ νυ τὸ οἶδα καὶ αὐτὸς ὅ μοι μόρος ἐνθάδ᾽ ὀλέσθαι

well I know that it is my fate to perish here

Il. 6.357–8 (Helen of herself and Paris)
οἷσιν ἐπὶ Ζεὺς θῆκε κακὸν μόρον, ὡς καὶ ὀπίσσω
ἀνθρώποισι πελώμεθ᾽ ἀοίδιμοι ἐσσομένοισι.

upon whom Zeus set an evil fate, that also later
we be the subject of song for men to come.

Il. 22.280 (Hector to Achilles)
ἐκ Διὸς ἠείδης τὸν ἐμὸν μόρον,

(you didn't) know my fate from Zeus,

Il. 24.84–5 (of Thetis):
ἣ δ᾽ ἐνὶ μέσσῃς
κλαῖε μόρον οὗ παιδὸς ἀμύμονος

who in their midst
lamented the fate of her noble child

There are more Homeric reflections in Callimachus' epigram lamenting the death of his friend. ἥλιον κατεδύσαμεν (line 3) is Callimachus' variation on the Homeric formulaic phrase ἠέλιος κατέδυ, here rendered as metaphor and given human agents. Line 3 ἐν λέσχῃ reflects a Homeric problem. This phrase occurs at *Od.* 18.329 where Melantho tells Odysseus, disguised as a beggar, to go sleep in the λέσχη; the scholia to this passage

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debate whether this Homeric hapax legomenon might be some sort of public shelter for vagrants.[2]

σποδιή is likewise a Homeric hapax legomenon, a famous one, the embers in which Odysseus hides the brand with which he will blind the Cyclops Polyphemus: ὡς δ᾽ ὅτε τις δαλὸν σποδιῇ ἐνέκρυψε μελαίνῃ, 'as when someone conceals a brand in black ash'. This is a remarkably weighted Homeric epigram. And then a further observation: line 5 ἀηδόνες is conventionally understood to refer to the poetry of Heraclitus and may even be the title by which a collection of his poetry was known. However, ἀηδών is also a hapax legomenon in Homer (and so one of three in this epigram). In one of the most famous passages of the *Odyssey*, Penelope compares her own weeping for her lost husband to that of Pandareus' daughter Procne, changed into a nightingale, forever lamenting the death of her son Itys: ὡς δ᾽ ὅτε Πανδαρέου κούρη, χλωρηΐς ἀηδών (19.518).

The poet thus evokes the weeping Penelope as analogy of his own sorrow, and this is yet another instance of fluidity of gender in Callimachus, a feature that figures in our next example of the poet's use of Homer. And while there are many ἀηδόνες in Greek lyric and tragic poetry, this is a markedly Homeric epigram, one that plays throughout with Homeric language and Homeric imagery. I would suggest that Callimachus, in a short poem where he already effects a novel 'Homerism' in the rendition of κατεδύσαμεν, is aware that ἀηδών is a hapax legomenon in Homer, and that recalling that one poignant passage, and that specific grief, is the point here. Callimachus figures the Homeric μόρος of a beloved friend in terms of the great longing for a beloved husband, Penelope's for Odysseus. The two one-time Homeric images of Odysseus and Penelope live again in Callimachus' epigram, alongside that of Achilles' grief for Patroclus. So Callimachus continues his love, memory and grief for his friend in terms of the two great loves of Homeric epic, and such a small poem in truth encapsulates so much. It does this through the juxtaposition of recollections of especially memorable moments in Homer's poetry in six lines, almost in the same way that, for example, a cameo can, in miniature, encompass a much larger reality.

Callimachus, Homeric epic and the nightingale. Where else do we encounter this particular combination? The *Aetia* prologue, line 16 ἀ[ηδονίδες] δ᾽ ὧδε μελιχρ[ό]τεραι, 'so nightingales are sweeter'. A.E. Housman's brilliant supplement has long found favour with the poem's readers. Yet there may be reason to reconsider it, especially in light of a new reading of the Heraclitus epigram. A.S. Hunt, the editor of *P.Oxy.* 2079 fr. 1 (and *P.Oxy.* 2167 fr. 1) gives only Housman's supplement (*ap. Hu. recte, ut nunc uidetur*); Pfeiffer in his 1949 edition of Callimachus notes the parallels of Adesp. *Anth. Pal.* 9.184.9 Ἀλκμᾶνος ἀηδόνες and Hesychius α 1498 Latte–Cunningham

[2] The information in this note has been taken from W. Dindorf, *Scholia Graeca in Homeri Odysseam*, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1855; repr. Amsterdam, 1962), 2.666:

329. ἐς λέσχην] τόπον ἀθύρωτον, δημόσιον, ἔνθα συνιόντες λόγοις καὶ διηγήμασιν ἀλλήλους ἕτερπον. ὠνόμασται δὲ παρὰ τὸ λέχος, ἐπεὶ ἐκεῖ ἐκοιμῶντο οἱ πτωχοὶ παρὰ τὸ πῦρ. B.Q. δημόσιον οἴκημα, οἷον λέχην, παρὰ τὸ ἐν αὐτῷ τοὺς μὴ ἔχοντας οἰκήματα λέχη ποιεῖσθαι. ἢ παρὰ τὸ λεσχαίνειν ἐν αὐτῷ, ὅ ἐστιν ὁμιλεῖν. Q.V. δημόσια οἰκήματα. καὶ γὰρ ὅσοι οὐκ ἔχουσιν οἶκον ἐκεῖσε μένουσι. P.

λέχην] γρ. λέσχην. λέσχη παρὰ τὸ λέχος. H.

329. 'to the *leschē*: public, doorless place, where those who come together take pleasure in stories and narratives among each other. So called from *lechos* ["bed"]. And there the beggars sleep by the fire.' B.Q. 'public dwelling, a sort of bed, so called from the homeless making beds. Or from chatting in it, which is to converse.' Q.V. 'public dwellings. For those who are homeless stay there.'

'*lechēn* write *leschēn*. *leschē* from *lechos* ["bed"].' H.

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ἀηδόνα ᾠδήν. However, Callimachus' two other uses of μελίχρως do not give a clear answer: these are *Epigr.* 27.2 and fr. 118.6. The latter, a fragment possibly from *Aitia* 1 (Apollo's temple at *Anaphe*),[3] has the fragmentary sixth line] … …. ιηει μελιχροτ[;[4] the former is particularly striking, ἀλλ᾽ὀκνέω μὴ τὸ μελιχρότατον | τῶν ἐπέων ὁ Σολεὺς ἀπεμάξατο, 'but I daresay upon the very sweetest of his hexameters the Solean modelled himself', as it shows the honey sweetness of μελιχρότατον adopted in the same poetological context as the song of the ἀηδόνες in our *Epigr.* 2.[5]

In their acutely intelligent 2003 study of Callimachus' *Epigr.* 51 Pf. (15 G–P) Andrej and Ivana Petrovic posited that the epigram was a reading of the *Aetia*'s conclusion, the joining of *The Lock of Berenice* to the four-book elegiac poem.[6] The present study suggests that another epigram, 2 Pf. = 34 G–P, references the long poem's prologue. Both studies suggest that a careful reading of Callimachus' epigrams in light of his longer works may well be in order—but this is the topic of a longer and very detailed study. For the present, let us enjoy the two epigrams that frame the *Aetia*, celebrating its end and its beginning.

I close with a final observation. *sillyboi* were small tags attached to ancient papyri that gave essential information on the contents of the scroll: name of author, title of work. Callim. *Epigr.* 27 Pf. (= 56 G–P) Ἡσιόδου τό τ᾽ ἄεισμα can be said to imitate in poetic form the *sillybos* for Aratus' *Phaenomena*; *Epigr.* 51 Pf. the form of the *sillybos* for the first papyrus roll of the *Aetia* final four-book edition. I have argued elsewhere for something of the same with Catullus 1. With *Epigr.* 2 Pf. (34 G–P) we see a different variation, two Homeric epics encapsulated in one epigram. Once again, Callimachus uses the small to encapsulate the great, which is, as it were, the function of the *sillybos*.

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A PUZZLE IN THE MANUSCRIPT TRADITION OF POLYBIUS

ABSTRACT

This note offers the solution to a puzzle in the manuscript tradition of Polybius that has baffled eminent modern authorities.

Keywords: Polybius; manuscripts; palaeography; colophon; compendia; shorthand; Constantine Porphyrogenitus

[3] E. Livrea, 'Il mito argonautico di Callimaco: l'episodio di Anafe', in G. Bastianini and A. Casanova (edd.), *Callimaco: cent'anni di papiri. Atti del convegno internazionale di studi. Firenze, 9–10 giugno 2005* (Florence, 2006), 89–99.

[4] The following line has]ἀκριβές, perhaps two adjectives of one subject?

[5] I owe this observation to a discussion with Marco Fantuzzi.

[6] A. Petrovic and I. Petrovic, 'Stop and smell the statues: Callimachus' *Epigram* 51 Pf. reconsidered (four times)', *MD* 51 (2003), 179–208.

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